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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

● 757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

758 Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

752 Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
[755] knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white piñon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[171] [1]But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 28–32.]
[2]The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mexicans that it causes rabies (Bourke, (f), 136). This is commonly thought to be folklore, but E. W. Nelson states (476) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*aguadŏtka* and *teikaydla*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*haldgwtld isdma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhoea.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed.

[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 351).

[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.

[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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him of his approaching death. Immediately after death, the body was laid with the head toward the spirit land to the northwest, to which the soul would take its flight. It was lovingly washed, dressed in the best clothes obtainable, wrapped in a choice blanket, and the face painted. The body was then laid, face down, across a favorite pony for the trip to the burial ground.

They would hold a cry over Jasper while he was yet alive, and the child would know that he was entering an unfamiliar world. Thinking of this, I went to my stores and took a generous supply of food to send him. I had not given up hope, and the mere act of sending him food increased my confidence. The chief's face brightened as I loaded his arms. Even though he carried burial clothes, he was thinking of the food his boy would eat, instead of how soon he would die.

Saturday afternoon Bob came bustling into my office, his face beaming with excitement. "Big chief's boy no die!" he exclaimed. "Maybe get little better. Pretty quick, *tobolwa* [sweat lodge]." So I went at once to Manakadja's place, arriving just in time to witness the sweat lodge ceremony for the healing of the sick.

The framework of the sweat lodge stood on a smooth patch of sand near the stream. Long poles, their butts thrust into the ground, their tips held together with bark or yucca leaves, formed a dome-shaped lodge about six feet in diameter and four feet high. A gap between two of the poles provided a low entrance. Long use had worn the floor of the lodge to a rounded depression. It was now thickly covered with fine willow twigs and leaves to make a soft bed.

Jasper's mother, one of Manakadja's two wives, came from her wickiup carrying Navaho blankets which she spread over the framework, several layers deep, making the interior as dark and airtight as possible. She went to the near-by fire and scattered live coals from the burning logs over the stones she was heating. Next she placed a pitch-smeared basket of cold water within the lodge and beside it laid some green twigs; then she was back at her fire, smothering the stones again with fresh coals.

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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *toholwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *toholwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *toholwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [462]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance attached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

[We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.